This paper reviews how thoroughly housing subsidy programs of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) cover the eligible population. By contrast with cash welfare programs or food stamps, which are available to all eligible applicants, housing subsidies are rationed to a fixed number of households. The number is set nationally by Congress and is set in each area by decisions of HUD, local governments, and housing developers. Within the fixed number of subsidized units, it is not always clear who ought to be served first. There has been a fairly clear consensus that the poorest families deserve first priority [1], but Congress has sought wider support for the programs by making a broad range of incomes eligible, and serving a subset of eligibles at each income level.

First the paper describes 10 w income households in general. Second it discusses HUD coverage of each type of household. Coverage is compared for different household structures, differerent income levels and different racial and ethnic groups. Last, the paper mentions some plans for future research.

## I. ALL LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLDS

Overall in 1979 there were 10,271,000 households with incomes below $30 \%$ of local median income (adjusted for household size). This income level was $\$ 6,000$ in 1979 and was comparable to the standard poverty definition. The most common households at this income level were el-

TABLE 1. LOW INCOME HOUSEHOLD TYPES IN 1979

| ONE ADULT |  |
| :--- | :---: |
| 4+ CHILDREN |  |
| 1-3 CHILDREN | $2 \%$ |
| 0 CHILDREN, ELDERLY ADULT | 13 |
| 0 CHILDREN, NON-ELDERLY ADULT | 15 |
| TWO OR MORE ADULTS |  |
| 4+ CHILDREN |  |
| 1-3 CHILDREN | $3 \%$ |
| 0 CHILDREN, ELDERLY ADULT(S) | 13 |
| 0 CHILDREN, NON-ELDERLY ADULTS | 11 |

TOTAL
100\%
derly individuals without children, forming 33\% of all low income households. The least common were large households, with four or more children. We show them separately in Table 1, not because they are common, but because they are a subject of public concern. The other households shown include individuals and couples, with and without children.

## II. HUD COVERAGE

A. Household Structure Figure 1 shows what fraction of households were served by HUD programs. The first column shows that HUD serves 12\% of all single, non-elderly individuals with no children. HUD does best, serving 29\%, among one-adult households with four or more children,

FIG. I. HUD COVERAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS AT 10-30\% OF MEDIAN INCOME. 1979


FIG. 2. HUD COVERAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS AT 0-10\% OF MEDIAN. INCOME. 1979

and almost as well for smaller one-adult households.

The left side of Figure 1 shows coverage of one-adult households. The right side, in a mirror image, shows coverage of households with two or more adults. In general, one-adult households are served better than two-adult households. This finding is surprising, but it occurs in all regions of the country, and at every income level (data not shown). The reason is partly that oneparent families face more problems in the housing market, so they apply to subsidized housing more frequently. It is also partly due to the fact that they stay poor longer than two-adult households [2], so they have more chance to apply for a subsidy and to stay on a waiting list long enough to reach the top.
B. Income Levels We have been discussing households from 10-30\% of local median income (adjusted for household size). One would expect poorer households to be better served, since they are needier. However Figure 2 shows that poorer households are served even less often.

The income level in Figure 2, up to $10 \%$ of median income, corresponds to about $\$ 2,000$ per year for a four person household, or $\$ 1,400$ for one person. Welfare and Supplemental Security Income (SSI) payments are usually just above this level, and certainly any job is.

A common reason why people have such low incomes is that they cannot or do not deal successfully with society. Housing subsidies, like other welfare programs, have a bureaucratic bias: forms to be filled in; a waiting period of weeks or years before one moves in; a lease to sign; a regular rent payment to make, even if it is low. Many poor people can deal with these requirements. Those who cannot are not served. This
does not mean they are impossible to serve, just difficult. Salvation Army hostels, emergency shelters, and sometimes single room occupancy hotels do serve them. In rural areas they may have their own dilapidated houses or rent shelter. Some avoid help on purpose, but studies have shown that most people, even at this income level, do accept help if they can understand it and if they are treated with dignity [3-6]. HUD has not yet developed programs able to meet this specialized need.
C. Race \& Ethnicity The last chart, Figure 3, compares how well HUD programs serve three racial and ethnic groups. Coverage for blacks is significantly higher than for hispanics or whites. The major reason for this difference may be the location of HUD projects. They are often in neighborhoods that were black when the projects were built or have since become black. The projects have rarely done affirmative marketing to attract poor hispanics or whites.

## III. FUTURE RESEARCH

In continuing research on this area, we are looking at data for other years to measure trends in subsidized housing. It appears, so far, that the major patterns continue without substantial change: one-parent households are served more often than two-parent households; the group from $10-30 \%$ of median income is served more often than the group below 10\%; and blacks are served to a greater degree than hispanics or whites. We plan to study the income group under $10 \%$ of median income in more detail, to test our hypotheses about why HUD programs are apparently not reaching those who may need them the most.


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table 2. hud programs, by household structure and income

SOURCE: MICRO-SIMULATION SYSTEM, OFFICE OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND RESEARCH, HUD; 1979 DATA

